* 539 /112 cont./

•192 German in Tukano is called Alemán. And then Yepá Huáke gave another order for the Colombians, who are called Siópuri Uejké in Tukano, to leave Diaojpekowí. Then Yepá Huáke gave the order for the Americans, who are called Pubricanos in Tukano, to leave Diaojpekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave the order for the English /Spanish ingleses/, who are called Ingleses in Tukano, to leave Diaojpekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave the order for the Italians /Spanish italianos/, who are called Italianos in Tukano, to leave. And then Yepá Huáke gave the order for the French to leave Diaojpekowí. And then Yepá Huáke gave the order for the Brazilians, who are called Ereya in Tukano, to leave Diaojpekowí.

* 539 And Yepá Huáke gave another order for the Spanish to leave Diaojpekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave the order for the Peruvians to leave Diaojpekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave the order for the Syrians to leave Diaojpekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave another

[192] order for the Portuguese to leave Diaojpekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave another order for the bicudos, who are also white Brazilians, to leave Diaojpekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave another order for the Negroes, who are called Tapañumas in Tukano, to leave Diaojpekowí. In other words, all the people of the world left Diaojpekowí. And then Yepá Huáke gave the order for the Baré,

[197] who are people who speak Geral (18),

> 18. Geral is the name with which is designated a language that is formed in its major part by the Tupí language.

to leave Diaojpekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave the order for the Ananicas, who are very small people and whom the whites call pygmies, to leave Diaojpekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave the order for an old woman of the whites to leave Diaojpekowí.

Yepá Huáke gave the order for all the whites, those who were not Tukano, to march to where the Tukano were, that is, to Diaojpekodijtára. Then Yepá Huáke performed a great miracle. With this miracle came all kinds of armaments, clothing, shoes,

/128 cont./
539
•[192] was left above the surface of the land, and drawing it a little toward one side, it remained fixed in the sky. The sky is called Emese in Tukano. And Yepá Huáke did the same with another little bell-stick in the tail of the gũĩo, and the little stick remained fixed between Diauamundia and the sky. Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "All the tribes of Tukano come and jump on top of the gũĩo, between the two sticks of Yaig." And that is where the Tukano learned the discipline of war. Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro and to all his people: "Start to march four times on top of the gũĩo; march two times looking at the sky and march two times looking at the surface of the land." And all marched on top of the gũĩo. And Yepá Huáke said: "Turn around and jump off the back of the gũĩo!" And they jumped. And then the gũĩo shook himself and there was like a flash of lightning and that was to kill the people who were on top of the gũĩo. And Yepá Huáke gave the order to Yúpuri Baúro and to all his people to climb on top of the gũĩo again and to march four more times on top of the gũĩo, two times looking at the sky and two times looking at the surface of the land. And Yúpuri Baúro and all his people did as Yepá Huáke ordered, and afterwards they turned around and jumped off the gũĩo again. And Yepá Huáke gave them orders to do the same thing again. And Yepá Huáke gave orders to Yúpuri Baúro and to all his people to do the same thing again. And all of them did the same thing. Then Yepá Huáke said: "No more for you." Then Yepá Huáke gave orders to Siópuri Uejké for him and all his people to jump on top of the gũĩo. And they marched differently, for /129/ they crossed one foot and then they crossed the other. And Yepá Huáke did not order them to look at the sky, but instead he told them to look only at the land. Siópuri Uejké and his people marched four times on top of the gũĩo, and the four times that they marched they looked at the land. And Yepá Huáke ordered them to jump off the gũĩo to the land. And the gũĩo trembled and sent a flash of lightning to kill them. And Yepá Huáke ordered Siópuri Uejké and all his people to jump on the gũĩo again, and they did it, and this time

4: Silva SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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[For information on vocabulary see category 116, passim, especially pp. 32, 47, 89-112, 125-128, 194-231, and 242-392.]

4s Silva--379 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/258 cont./

*192 821 noted that, while all the inanimate beings belong to the neuter gender in the Tukano language (and, it seems to us, in all the indigenous languages of the region), sun, moon, star, thunder, and the sacred instrument miri (cf. VII - 3, c (3c)) are of the masculine gender.

There is only one name to designate the sun and the moon, Muhĩ-pũ. They originally imagined them as only one and the same being, which illuminated the world, and it was always day. Until night appeared, in the form of dark dust scattered through space.

*822 • 192 The echo, Axkã-keoãra, is owed to Wãx-tĩ (see VII - 4, d (5a)), who, from amidst the forest, amuses himself by imitating some noise. And many of the noises of the forest (the whispering of the wind, the murmuring of the breeze among the /259/ leaves, branches falling) seem to them to be imitations of the music and sounds of the dances that Wãx-tĩ performs.

*192 821 The thunderclap is the aborted children, Paxkó-mãrĩrã-khãra (that is, orphans without a mother), who cry, because it is going to be very hot. "These poor children go around alone, because nobody takes care of them" (Patrícia Vasconcelos).

3) The constellations.

They distinguish the constellations with names of animals or things that they seem to see represented by the stars, Yõxkõã. The knowledge of the constellations is more generalized among the natives than among the civilized. Thus, upon asking a group of young men of 16 to 20 years of age the names of the constellations, all showed that they knew them, and one would recall the name when another had forgotten it, and they pointed to them in the sky.

[115]

/353 cont./

796 534 778 *192 562 858

Very early in the morning, perhaps around 3 o'clock, some men make the mysterious instruments sound at intervals at the landing place. It is the bath of the dawn, or wá-wa'kãsé.

/354/ The women and children who came to the feast, barely disembarked, go at once to the maloca and shut themselves in (63),

[343]

63. Koch Grünberg reports (Zwei Iahre, 217) that at a feast on the Umarí-igarapé (tributary of the Tiquié) there had been built a hut of palms where the women and children took shelter, while in the maloca 25 men, arranged in pairs, sounded the mĩriá.

while the men go to prepare the procession of Wãx-tĩ.

796 534 778 562 688

The guests then go toward that local landing place to which the instruments that are usually kept hidden from the women, submerged in the river or in some igarapé, were taken. The sounds of the sacred instruments echo. No person of the female sex may see it. If they saw it, Wãx-tĩ would cause them the same misfortunes as before. In fact such a woman must die (64).

64. One of the informants (Felisberto, Kumãdene of Urubucuara, river Uaupés) stated clearly: -- "If any woman sees it, they will kill her." Several women stated to us that they may not see such an instrument, because, if they saw it, they would get sick and would have to die.

[593] 278 *192

The execution will be done by her own father or husband, with poison (rarely violently), seeming to be the vengeance of Wãx-tĩ. Upon hearing the instruments, they respond with cries inside the maloca: "ayu! ayú! mĩrĩ, mĩrĩ mĩrĩ!" (There! There! It is the jurupari, jurupari, jurupari!)

/365 cont./

825 When the women see a blind snake or a headless snake, ðxsó, they turn their faces to the side, so that it will not come at night to fecundate them.

[752] [784] When someone is bitten by a snake, his relatives must abstain from salt, pepper, and fish.

• [192] [856] When a child is slow in learning to talk, they give the smoked meat of the toad nãxterõ to it to eat, affirming that thus he will soon begin to talk (76).

76. Patrícia Vasconcelos, Tukano from S. Luzia, river Papurí, states that this happened with her. And soon after having eaten the meat of such a toad, she started to talk.

* [192] [304] [224] [226] They make some cuts on the children's bodies, when they are still young, with fish teeth, especially from the piraíba, so that they will become mõ'sĩgõ̃ (in Nheengatú marupiára), that is, lucky in fishing and hunting.

Uruká-tutu is the onomatopoeic name, in the Língua Geral and in Tukano, of a nocturnal bird, whose chirping must not be imitated, because it will come to avenge itself against the one * [192] who did this, throwing stones at him. They affirm that this bird is the disembodied spirit of some white or civilized, pexká-sã wẽ'rĩ wãx-tĩ.

[752] /366/ They burn the house of the termite and put the ashes on wounds, so that they will not leave a scar. They explain that just as the termites repair their nest perfectly when it is broken open, the ashes of their nest will produce the same result in the human wounds.

If a dog goes in the water in which timbo has been spread for fishing, the poison will no longer have any strength.

[843] The ladies in a state of pregnancy must not eat the pirarucú and pirandira fish, or the pirara; because "this eats dead people" is the explanation that they provided.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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5

Marriage

614 615 The rule in marriage is that a wife cannot be taken from within the sib or phratry. She may be taken from another tribe and, of course, from any of the other two phratries. There is no actual prohibition against marrying a woman from one's own community if she belongs to a group that is outside the phratry. As I have already noted, such marriages are not common because of a preference for marrying someone from a distance. Since true friendship is apt to mean brotherhood [626] for the Cubeo, and so is identified with exogamy, the parties to a coresidence marriage, the man in particular, are made to feel as though they were behaving indecently. The only case of a coresidence 614 597 marriage that I learned about was complicated somewhat by an issue of adoption, but it illustrates the ambiguity of feeling the Cubeo have about such marriages, nevertheless. A boy, born a *Bahúkiwa*, was orphaned and adopted by the *Hürüwá*, a sib of the opposite phratry. He then married a *Hürüwá* girl. Opinion was divided. The boy and his supporters claimed that he was *Bahúkiwa* and so the marriage was proper. The other side argued that since he was raised by the *Hürüwá* he had no business marrying a *Hürüwá* girl. Since the girl's family allowed the marriage to stand we must assume 582 that the boy's position was legally sound. Marriage is preferred between age equals, and since a groom must be forceful enough to make a good impression he will not marry until his very late teens and so • 192 neither will the girl. The term for marriage is *nomíkükü*, meaning simply "woman getting."

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7

Development of the Individual

The development of individual character is always relevant to an understanding of social organization. In the case of Cubeo social organization, founded, as it is, upon the lifelong continuity of the sibling group of males, the psychological factors are of particular importance. The following discussion will attempt to show the relationship between some of the experiences of a Cubeo from infancy to adulthood and some of the formal principles of Cubeo social organization. By and large, Cubeo social organization must conform to the direct psychological dispositions of its members for the commanding reason that the people have a low tolerance for psychic discomfort. The sib, as we have noted, is readily split; this means, in psychological terms, that those who find any cause for dissatisfaction with life within the community are quick to leave. The community, therefore, is constantly being drained of its malcontents. Those who remain are, in a manner of speaking, in harmony with one another. This harmony, it should be said at once, is not that of homogeneity. It is based rather upon individual complementarities, of extraversion-introversion, active-passive, and leader-follower, as in any community. The harmony is between the requirements of adult life and the experiences of childhood.

The Cubeo use the following age-grade terms. The nursing infant from birth until it learns to crawl is called *abohoidjó* (male) or *abohokó* (female); a crawling infant is *tcumí* (male or female, although *tcúmiko* is possible for the female); the walking child who

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561 still needs help is *tcumihinkũ* (male) or *tcumihinko* (female); the
192 youngster until puberty is *hwainyó* (male) or *hwainkó* (female);
the adult male is *ümũ* (male) or *nomyó* (female), and finally, the old
people are *bekũ* (male) or *bekó* (female).

BIRTH AND INFANCY

842 The Cubeo believe it is the spermatic fluid (*hürũ*) that causes
conception. They regard the womb as a ground in which the fetus
grows, or is cultivated as seeds are planted in the earth. Since men
and women do not discuss together the biology of conception and of
[843] pregnancy, their views differ. Men I spoke to dated conception from
the time when the abdomen begins to swell, while women dated it
843 from the cessation of menstruation. Both sexes believe that con-
833 tinued coitus after conception will add to the number of children
842 that will grow in the womb. Stories are told of people who did not
heed this so that the woman burst from an accumulation of fetuses.
Coitus is stopped, however, by the male reckoning.

842 It is a common view of men that women are not eager to bear
847 children. Women, they say, know how to bring about abortion and
frequently resort to infanticide. They explain that women are sexu-
ally too ardent and rather than forgo coitus during the long nursing
[833] period they would rather not have a child at all. Moreover, a woman
who has not been enjoying sexual intercourse with her husband will
abort or kill her offspring. If she chooses infanticide, however, she
spares the boy. Women do concede knowledge and use of abortifa-
cients and they acknowledge that others of their sex practice infan-
ticide. They agree that a woman who does not love her husband
842 punishes him by denying him a child. Thus, the Cubeo are disin-
[586] clined to believe in barrenness or in sterility, attributing infertility to
female design. A man, therefore, has cause to abandon a wife who
bears him no children. One man told that he had abandoned his wife
for not bearing children. Later they became reconciled; his wife had a
change of heart and began to bear children.

847 Male infanticide, I was assured, was rare, for even the most dis-
[562] affected or self-indulgent woman would not have the heart to kill a
male child. Both men and women agreed that a girl was less impor-
tant. The unwanted child is buried alive, it is said, at the very spot
where it was born.

842 The likelihood is very strong, then, that a child is born to a family
that desires it, and in which husband and wife are happy with each
other. Parturition takes place in the woman's manioc garden. A

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smoking a bark-rolled cigarette. He steps into the river, an act believed to be dangerous for him despite the magical precautions, scoops up water, rinses his mouth, and spits it out. Then he blows the cigarette smoke and recites his spells. As a last act he throws the burning faggots into the water "to drive away all the danger."

For the rest of the month the father may not tie, cut, or press anything, such as sugar cane. Cutting and tying would prevent the child from urinating and defecating, pressing sugar cane would crush the child to death. One man told that he had forgotten this injunction and had tied together a bundle of sugar cane. When he returned home his infant was ill and died on the same day. Before each of these activities is resumed an appropriate spell accompanied by cigarette smoke is chanted.

Once the river has been "blown" the father may fish and paddle his canoe, but for five days thereafter he may not kill a fish by clubbing or he will injure the infant's head. He may not scrape scales from a fish or the navel stump of the infant will swell. He may not drink chicha for five days or the infant will suffer from diarrhea. Chicha drinking is the least dangerous act. Should the father get drunk on chicha before the chicha has been properly spelled the infant will get drunk. On the other hand, when he sobers so will the child.

For the first year of its life the infant has no name (*amyá*) and is not fully a member of the sib. I was told merely that if it were given a name too soon it would die. After the name is bestowed, the child comes under the influence of the Ancients and their growth magic. To appreciate the significance of growth magic it is necessary to understand the special relish the Cubeo have for body size, how much they appreciate heavy arms and bulging calves. Size is a virtue in itself. Thus it is also interesting to note that the term for body is *bahü* and the term for the self, the person, is also built on this stem, *bahümikü* (or *ko*).

The naming ceremony (*amindone hino*: giving a name) is conducted by the paternal grandfather, whose privilege it is to give the name. Seated on a bench at the forward and ceremonial end of the house, with his son at his side holding the infant, the grandfather repeatedly recites a chant over a small calabash of milk. The father accompanies him. The milk has been drawn from the child's mother's breast but is referred to as milk from the father's sister, to emphasize the point that it is the child's own sib that will make it grow. The chant itself, as well as the blowing, are forms of growth magic. Each recitation begins with sustained loud whistles followed by the cries *hi i i i i*. At the conclusion of each recitation the grand-

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danced the Jaguar. During the early part of the *óyne*, when proceedings are still orderly, the Jaguars and the Butterflies form an appropriate ensemble, the latter dancing in front of the Jaguars. Later a calculated disorder takes place. At this time the Jaguars tear the bark fastenings from their jug whistles and distribute the tough brown material to all the men to chew on so they may become "as strong and fierce as the jaguar." The jaguar song I collected is different from that recorded by Koch-Grünberg, but variations are common. Thus, when Koch-Grünberg saw the Jaguars among the *Hehénewa* they were not using jug whistles, while the Arawakan tribes were. The song I recorded was:

yavirárü yavirákü [repeated]
yavirárü maníka
yavirárü ya
ho ho ho o ho.

Like all mourning songs it had a slow rhythm and a hauntingly mournful tune. The Cubeo offered no translation. *Yavirákü* means "big jaguar," and *maníka* may mean "children."[8] Koch-Grünberg collected a similar jaguar song among the Arawakans on the Aiarí River, whereas the song he recorded among the Cubeo is curiously quite different and does not even include the descriptive name *yavi*. There is good reason to suspect that these songs are widely exchanged.

The mask of Butterfly (*Tatárako*) is marked by triangular wing designs. The headpiece, moreover, has attached to it winglike structures made of bark cloth stretched over a frame of splints. The headpiece, which, like the Jaguar, has no facial markings, is built up around basket work to give it a bulbous appearance and to identify it with caterpillars, beetle larvae, and the sloth. A mask photographed by Koch-Grünberg has, in addition, an antennae-like strip arching forward over the face. The Butterflies also dance in pairs, often holding hands. Each holds a calabash in one hand and a stick in the other with which he strikes the calabash violently. This gesture imitates that of the sorcerer striking the pot into which the butterfly will fall. Their characteristic step is to run forward quickly and then take several slow steps back like the flight of the butterfly. Sometimes they drop to their knees to imitate the creatures resting. The song I recorded had the refrain *kavíré kavíré* and is not the same as that recorded by Koch-Grünberg on the Aiarí.

Koch-Grünberg observed nine types of demons or ogres, including

[8] The Cubeo term for children is actually *mandwa*. The term *maníka* may be a song transformation. However, this translation is very uncertain.

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of teaching people useful things. In the Cubeo allocation of moderate powers among men and supernatural beings, men get their fair share, so to speak.

The native term for power is *parié*, a term that applies to the strength and vigor of a warrior, the magical potency of the ancestor flutes and trumpets, the awesome fierceness of the jaguar, as well as to the clearly magical powers of the shaman or of the layman who has learned how to cure and to practice sorcery. The term simply means "able" and is the verb in the common expression "I can do it." Thus, the distinction we might draw between natural and supernatural powers is not one that is recognized by the Cubeo.

The shaman is the principal holder of *parié*. He may be known as *pariékokü* (man of power) or as *yavi* (jaguar). By either term the Cubeo conjure up the image of power. As *pariékokü* it is power in a neutral sense; as *yavi* it is power in the aspect of dread. Every *yavi* is a *pariékokü* but not every *pariékokü* is a *yavi*. The *yavi* is the supreme shaman, the one who can take the form of a jaguar, who consorts with jaguars, who maintains the jaguar as a dog. The *pariékokü* is one who has learned how to cure as well as to kill but, not being a jaguar, is a second-class practitioner. Every sib has its *pariékokü*, but *yavis* are scarce. To distinguish between the *yavi* and the *pariékokü*, the Cubeo say of the former *urána pariékokü*, *urána* meaning "big." It is because of this Cubeo usage that I have thought it advisable to discuss shamanism under the heading of "power."

The power of the shaman is called *parükü*, a noun form with the connotation of a substance. When a shaman has accomplished an exceptional act it is his *parükü*, it is said, that enabled him to do it. The great shamans control the weather, for the most part unpleasantly. They bring storms, hail, fog, strong winds. They can lower the depths of a river as great as the Vaupés. When the river bottom of the smaller Cuduiarí is exposed, however, the attribution is to natural causes. The play of the shaman with weather and the river level is only a demonstration of his power and has no sinister motive. Shamanistic power also includes the control of tutelary spirits. Generally, a shaman controls a number of insect spirits who do his bidding, in a minor capacity, however, as scouts and as messengers. A shaman on the Cuduiarí once found a little girl who had blundered into the forest and become lost. He claimed he had sent an insect to look for her.

Another demonstration of shamanistic power is in the battles the shamans wage against one another. A *yavi*, I was told, has a different

619 practice, the designation of "tribe" implies a distinct culture-bearing entity. But the use of "tribe" for social units in the central Northwest Amazon has been ambiguous because of the use sometimes of linguistic and sometimes of cultural criteria. The problem of identifying tribal units has been recognized on a more general level in South American ethnology by Steward and Faron (1959:17, 21), and the concept of "tribe" in the world-wide anthropological literature has most recently been challenged by Fried (1966), who indicates that assumptions regarding the diachronic and politico-evolutionary status of so-called tribes need re-examination.

619 • 192 The Tukano, Tuyuka, Barasana, and other Eastern Tukanoan-speaking Indians of the central Northwest Amazon have no simple term for "tribe" in their languages, nor for "lineage," "sib," "phratry." In discussion these units are designated by proper names (e.g., "the Tukanos") or, if the context is clear, by demonstratives suffixed with one of the various classifiers glossing as "group," "class," "persons," any one of which may pertain to any of these social units. When Spanish is used, however, *tribu* is applied by Indians to the language-bearing unit only, whereas *familia* and *grupo* are applied to various units, including the tribe. When an informant is asked to explain the meaning of "tribu" in Tukano (or in another Eastern Tukanoan language), he invariably gives the proper name of the language-bearing unit, and follows up further questioning about other social units by giving the proper names of those that he knows, especially of those in his own lineage-sib-tribe hierarchy, and he concludes with a statement such as, "They're all my relatives." If recourse is made to Spanish to explain a hierarchical arrangement, an informant will say something like "*Este grupo tiene tres grupos.*" In Tukano he would say, "This-group is three-groups: the 'Anteater' people are three-groups: the A are at X rapids, the B are at Y stretch of the Papurí River, and the C are at Z mission village." Linguistically, the name for the language is the name for the tribe in the plural possessive form, nominalized; the plural infinitive of the word for "to speak" is the form glossing as "language," and if this form also appears along with the tribal name, then the plural possessive form of the tribal name also appears but it is not nominalized.

[P. 673-B]